

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14

OIC-04 AEC-11 /165 W

----- 029097

R 251112Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1736

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 59

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 1623

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING FEBRUARY 22, 1974

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THIS WEEK, THE ALLIES MOVED CLOSE TO AGREEMENT WITH THE EASTERN SIDE ON SUBJECT MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED IN INFORMAL MEETINGS. IT WAS TENTATIVELY AGREED THAT THE AGENDA FOR THE INFORMAL SESSIONS SHOULD CONTAIN TWO ITEMS:

"GROUND FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" AND "OTHER TOPICS." UNDER THE THE FIRST ITEM, US-SOVIET FORCES WOULD BE THE FIRST TOPIC TAKEN UP, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A DISCUSSION OF THE FORCES OF THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

"PHASING/STAGES" WOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED UNDER THE FIRST

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ITEM. UNDER THE SECOND ITEM, "OTHER TOPICS," THE SOVIETS

STATED THEIR INTENTION TO RAISE THE MATTER OF REDUCTIONS IN AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. THE ALLIES WILL DISCUSS DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND THE FIRST MEETING BASED ON THE NEW AGENDA COULD BE HELD AS EARLY AS 27 FEBRUARY. AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION THIS WEEK, HUNGARIAN REP PETRAN DELIVERED A STATEMENT WHICH, WHILE STRESSING FAMILIAR THEMES, CONTAINED SOME INTERESTING ELEMENTS. THE WESTERN STATEMENT AT THE SECOND PLENARY ON STABILIZING MEASURES PROVOKED AN IMPROMPTU INTERVENTION BY SOVIET REP KHLESTOV.
END SUMMARY

1. HUNGARIAN REP PETRAN, SPEAKING ON 19 FEBRUARY, STRESSED THE USUAL EASTERN THEMES OF THE NEED FOR THE REDUCTION OF EUROPEAN FORCES FROM THE VERY BEGINNING AND FOR THE INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. IN CONNECTION WITH THE FIRST THEME. PETRAN STATED THAT EUROPEAN CONSENT FROM THE BEGINNING TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES WAS " A CONDITIO SINE QUA NON OF THE CONTINUATION OF EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS." FRG REP BEHRENDT POINTED OUT LATER THAT WHILE IT WAS PERHAPS GOING TOO FAR TO INTERPRET THIS STATEMENT AS A THREAT TO DISCONTINUE THE TALKS, IT COULD BE A WARNING THAT THE PACT MIGHT EVENTUALLY HAVE TO TURN TO BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

2. AT THE PLENARY ON 21 FEBRUARY, THE ALLIED STATEMENT COVERED THE TWO SUBJECTS OF THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS AND STABILIZING MEASURES. THE STABILIZING MEASURES PORTION OF THE ALLIED STATEMENT, THE FIRST OF THREE PRESENTATIONS ON THE SUBJECT, PROVOKED AN IMPROMPTU INTERVENTION BY SOVIET REP KHLESTOV. KHLESTOV SAID HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE MEASURES DESCRIBED IN THE ALLIED STATEMENT COULD BE CALLED "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" BECAUSE THEY HAD NO CONNECTION WHATSOEVER WITH REDUCTIONS. HE REMINDED THE ALLIES THAT THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES.

3. THE INFORMAL MULTILATERAL MEETING ON 20 FEBRUARY WAS ATTENDED BY US, UK, AND NETHERLANDS REPS FOR THE
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WESTERN SIDE AND SOVIET, POLISH AND CZECH REPS FOR THE EASTERN SIDE. DURING THE FIRST PART OF THE SESSION, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV TOOK THE SAME HARD LINE HE HAD ADOPTED AT THE TWO PREVIOUS INFORMAL SESSIONS, SAYING THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL, AS IT HAD BEEN EXPLAINED AGAIN BY THE UK REP, WAS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT WOULD PUT THE EASTERN SIDE IN THE POSITION OF DISCUSSING SUBSTANCE OF THE ALLIES' TERMS. INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

MUST HAVE AS THEIR AGENDA THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THE
SUBJECT MATTER OF EACH SIDE'S PROPOSAL. BY THE END
OF THE SESSION, HOWEVER, AN AGENDA PROPOSAL HAD EMERGED

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OIC-04 AEC-11 /165 W

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R 251112Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1737

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0060

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

THAT SEEMED TO SATISFY THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES.
THE PROPOSAL IS THAT THE INFORMAL MEETINGS HAVE AN
AGENDA CONSISTING OF TWO ITEMS. THE FIRST ITEM, "GROUND
FORCES OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS," WOULD INCLUDE DIS-
CUSSIONS OF US-SOVIET FORCE REDUCTIONS, REDUCTIONS OF
THE FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, AND "PHASING/
STAGES." IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT US-SOVIET FORCE REDUCTIONS
WOULD BE THE FIRST TOPIC DISCUSSED. UNDER THE SECOND
ITEM, KHLESTOV MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE EAST WILL ARGUE

FOR THE INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN
REDUCTIONS. KHLESTOV SUGGESTED THAT EACH OF THE TWO
MAIN AGENDA ITEMS COULD BE DISCUSSED AT TWO OR THREE
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MEETINGS, AND THAT AS MANY AS TWO OR THREE MEETINGS
COULD BE HELD DURING A WEEK'S TIME. IN ARRIVING AT
THIS PROPOSAL BY THE END OF THE INFORMAL MEETING,
KHLESTOV MADE THREE DISTINCT CHANGES IN HIS POSITION.
HE AGREED TO DISCUSS US AND SOVIET FORCES FIRST. HE
AGREED TO SEPARATE THE DISCUSSION OF AIR AND
NUCLEAR FORCES FROM THE DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCES.
HE DROPPED HIS INSISTENCE THAT THERE BE A SEPARATE
ITEM ON AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, AGREEING INSTEAD TO
RAISE THE SUBJECT UNDER THE AGENDA ITEM "OTHER TOPICS."

4. THE AD HOC GROUP GREETED THE RESULTS OF THE INFORMAL
MEETING WITH MEASURED ENTHUSIASM. NEARLY ALL ALLIED
REPS AGREED THAT THE EMERGING AGREEMENT ON SUBJECTS
TO BE DISCUSSED REPRESENTED PROCEDURAL PROGRESS.
ITALIAN REP CAGIATI THOUGHT THAT THE ALLIES HAD
CERTAINLY NOT GAINED ONE-SIDED VICTORY, SINCE EACH
SIDE WOULD BE ABLE TO STRESS POINTS FROM ITS OWN
PROPOSAL. UK REP ROSE, STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE
OF LOOKING AT SOVIET MOTIVES, THOUGHT THAT TWO INTER-
PRETATIONS WERE POSSIBLE. THE OPTIMISTIC INTERPRETATION
WAS THAT THE SOVIETS RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE
GIVE IN THE WESTERN POSITION AND CONCLUDED THAT
IN ORDER TO HAVE SOME PROGRESS BY THE TIME OF THE
PROJECTED NIXON-BREZHNEV SUMMIT THIS SUMMAR, THE
EASTERN SIDE HAD TO SHOW SOME FLEIXIBILITY TO GET A
DIALOGUE STARTED. THE PESSIMISTIC INTERPREATION
WAS THAT THE PROCEDURAL CONCESSIONS THE SOVIETS
HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY MADE ARE MEANINGLESS, SINCE THEY
WILL CONCEDE NOTHING ON SUBSTANCE.

5. AFTER ALLIED DISCUSSION OF THE INFORMAL MEETING
REVEALED UNCERTAINTY ON SOME LIMITED POINTS OF THE
AGENDA PROPOSAL, IT WAS DECIDED THESE POINTS SHOULD BE RAISED
WITH THE SOVIETS NEXT WEEK. IF THE SOVIETS CONFIRM THE
UNDERSTANDING OF THE WESTERN SIDE, AND IF NO OBJECTIONS ARE
HEARD FROM NATIONAL CAPITALS, THE FIRST DISCUSSION COULD BE
HELD AS EARLY AS 27 FEBRUARY.

6. WHILE THE INFORMAL MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WERE
MAKING PROGRESS THIS WEEK, THE ROMANIANS CONTINUED TO
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COMPLAIN TO THE ALLIES ABOUT BEING EXCLUDED, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR SOME LESS RESTRICTIVE FORUM. THEY SAID AGAIN THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE TO SEPAK OUT AT A PLENARY SESSION TO MAKE CLEAR THEIR OPPOSITION TO INFORMAL MEETINGS.

7. ASSESSMENT: THIS WEEK'S EVENTS BROUGHT THE ALLIES CLOSE TO THEPROCEDURAL GOAL THEY HAVE BEEN SEEKING SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS ROUND OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. EASTERN AGREEMENT TO TALK ABOUT US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS FIRST AND TO SEPARATE DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCES FROM DISCUSSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES COULD IN DUE COURSE LEAD THE EAST IN THE DIRECTION OF DISCUSSING SUBJECT MATTER IN WESTERN TERMS. THE DISCUSSION OF US-SOVIET FORCES WILL PERMIT THE WEST TO SOUND OUT THE EASTERN SIDE ON THAT SUBJECT TO AN EXTENT THAT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE SO FAR BUT, AT THE OUTSET, EACH SIDE WILL PROBABLY PRESENT WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS. THE QUESTION OF SOVIET MOTIVES FOR SHOWING MORE FLEXIBILITY ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS WILL NOT BE FULLY ANSWERABLE FOR SOME TIME. THE SOVIETS APPEAR INTERESTED IN KEEPING THE MBFR TALKS FROM COMING TO A STALEMATE, AND INFORMAL SESSIONS SEEM TO BE THE BEST WAY TO DO THAT AT THIS POINT. ADDITIONALLY, THE SOVIETS HAVE PROBABLY CONCLUDED THAT BY AGREEING TO THE PROPOSAL THAT EMERGED THIS WEEK, THEY ARE MAKING SMALL PROCEDURAL CONCESSIONS THAT WILL HAVE LITTLE AUTOMATIC IMPACT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR POSITION.HUMES

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